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LUCERO THE INQUISITOR

IN January, 1481, the Inquisition was formally established by Ferdinand and Isabella in Seville, whence it was gradually extended until Castile was covered with an organization of tribunals. Although viewed with disfavor by a considerable portion of the population, even among the Old Christians who were not threatened by it, there was no overt resistance for a quarter of a century. It was impossible however that the arbitrary and virtually irresponsible power lodged with the inquisitors should not be frequently abused, although Ferdinand, as a rule, endeavored to hold it in check, and at last the excesses of Diego Rodriguez Lucero, the senior inquisitor of Córdoba, provoked an explosion which produced a salutary though not permanent effect. The story has been often told, but fresh documentary evidence in my hands throws some new light on details which perhaps may justify the endeavor to present it more completely than has hitherto been possible, especially as it affords some new light on a turning-point in Spanish history.

The first glimpse we have of Lucero is in the year 1500, when we find him already in position in Córdoba and in favor at the royal court. A letter of Ferdinand, July 27, to Andrés de Medina, receiver of confiscations there, orders the payment to him of 20,000 maravedis as an *ayuda de costa*, or gratuity over and above his salary, to reimburse him for his expenses in travelling to Granada and Malaga and other places, for the jurisdiction of the tribunal of Córdoba extended at that time over the recently conquered kingdom of Granada.¹ This is followed by another letter of December 11, cordially thanking Lucero for the ample details contained in a recent despatch from him relating how he was every day discovering new heretics; he is urged to spare no effort for their punishment, especially of those who have relapsed, and to report at once everything that he does.² He scarce needed this stimulus, for the

¹ This and the following incidents are derived from the letter-books of Ferdinand on the affairs of the Inquisition, preserved in the Archives of Simancas, Consejo de la Inquisition, Libros 1 and 2. Unfortunately in the series there is a gap covering the years of the Cordovan disturbances.

² Inquisidor Lucero. Yo e la serenissima Reyna mi muy cara y muy amada muger vimos vuestra letra y tenemos vos en servicio porque tan por extenso nos escrevis. Y pues vedes lo que de cada día se descubre en ofensa de Dios nuestro Señor y contra nuestra santa fe Catolica, deveys con mucha diligencia solicitud y esfuerzo entender en la correccion de los malos y especialmente se deve luego fazer justicia de aquellos que dezis

letter shows how actively he was at work securing victims by the methods which will presently appear.

The next evidence of his zeal is a letter of February 12, 1501, from Ferdinand and Isabella to Manoel of Portugal, their son-in-law, informing him of the numerous heretics recently discovered at Córdoba and how the heresiarchs Alfonso Fernandez Herrera and Fernando de Córdoba with his wife Elvira had fled to Portugal, whither Lucero despatched his alguazil to bring them back without waiting to obtain royal letters. The alguazil seized them, but before the king would grant license for their extradition he desired to see the evidence against them. This Ferdinand and Isabella declare would be a grievous impediment to the Holy Office and disservice to God, so they affectionately entreat Manoel to surrender them, for the honor of God, and to protect from maltreatment his officials who had aided the alguazil.

We may not uncharitably assume that a portion of the royal favor was due to the pecuniary results of Lucero's activity. By this time the confiscations of the property of heretics, which at first had afforded substantial relief to the royal treasury, were seriously diminished and in many places were scarce defraying the expenses of the Inquisition; the rich *conversos*, or New Christians, had been largely burnt or stripped of their wealth under the guise of penance, and the harvest was much reduced. That Córdoba, on the contrary, was producing increased returns is evident from a letter of Ferdinand, March 13, 1501, to the receiver Andrés de Medina, saying that he learns that there is much to be done there and authorizing the appointment of two assistants at a salary of 10,000 maravedis. For this productiveness Lucero received his reward in another *ayuda de costa* of 25,000 maravedis, granted to him September 16 of the same year, and that the confiscations continued to grow is manifested by orders drawn January 12 and 13, 1503, on Luis de Sotomayor, who was then receiver, for five hundred thousand maravedis to defray inquisitorial salaries elsewhere. Under the same date we have a further example of Lucero's activity in the sudden arrest of five of the official public scriveners. As these were the depositories of the papers of their clients, the sequestration of all of their effects produced enormous trouble, to relieve which Ferdinand ordered all private documents to be separated and to be put in the hands of another scrivener, Luis de Mesa. This illustrates another of the profits of persecution, for when these delinquents should be burnt or

que son relapsos, porque las conciencias no esten ocupadas e se vean que se faze castigo de tan publicas ofensas, y de lo que fizieredes todavia nos escrevit. De Granada, XI de Dezembro de mil y quinientos años.—Yo el Rey.

pronounced incapable of holding office, there would be five vacancies to be eagerly contended for by those able to pay for them, or, if any of the prisoners were released after a trial lasting from one to three or four years, their business would have been absorbed by rivals.

Already, in 1501, we find evidence of antagonism springing up between the civil authorities of Córdoba and the Inquisition. A royal letter of September 6 relates that when the receiver of confiscations, accompanied by Diego de Barrio, scrivener of sequestrations, was engaged in holding a public auction of confiscated property, the alguazil-mayor of the city, Gonzalo de Mayorga, ordered the public crier, Juan Sanchez, who was crying the auction, to come with him in order to make certain proclamations. The scrivener interposed, refusing to let the crier go; hot words passed, in which Mayorga insulted the Inquisition and finally struck the scrivener with his wand of office, after which the alcalde-mayor of Córdoba, Diego Ruiz de Zarate, carried him off to prison. The inviolability of the Holy Office was vindicated by a royal sentence in which Mayorga, in addition to the arbitrary penance to be imposed on him by Lucero, was deprived of his office for life, was pronounced incapable of filling any public position whatever and was banished perpetually from Córdoba and its district, which he was to leave within eight days after notification. Zarate was more mercifully treated with only six months' suspension from office. This severity to secular officials of high rank was a warning which all men might heed that Lucero was not to be trifled with.

Secure in the favor of the sovereigns, Lucero grew bolder and extended his operations, arresting and condemning nobles and gentlemen and church dignitaries, for the vacated benefices of the latter were spoils as welcome as the estates of the former.¹ A great fear fell on the whole population, for no one was safe and no one could tell where the next blow would fall. It was easy by abuse and threats, or if necessary by torture, to procure from the

¹ An example of this, set forth in a memorial from Córdoba to Queen Juana, throws much light on the unwavering support of Lucero by Ferdinand. The archdeacon of Castro was a youth of seventeen, the son of an Old Christian mother and a *converso* hidalgo. His benefice was valued at 300,000 maravedis of revenue and he was a fair subject for spoliation. He was arrested, was forced to confess and abjure, and was penanced so as to render him incapable of holding preferment. The spoils were divided between Cardinal Bernardino Carvajal, for whom bulls had been obtained in advance, Lucero, the royal treasurer Morales, and Juan Roiz de Calcena, Ferdinand's secretary; Lucero getting a canonry in Seville and some benefices in Cuenca, while Calcena received property estimated at 4,000,000 maravedis.—Arch. de Simancas, Patronato Real, Inquisicion, Legajo unico, fol. 46.

The latter figure probably represents Calcena's total profits from Lucero's operations. He was Ferdinand's secretary in matters concerning the Inquisition, and he had thus full opportunity of keeping his master in ignorance.

accused whatever evidence was necessary to convict others, for the testimony of accomplices was always a fruitful resource in the inquisitorial process, and the circle of denunciation widened throughout all ranks, not only of the New Christians, but of the Old. Apologists of the Inquisition, from that time to the present, have endeavored to extenuate this by the suggestion that those compromised endeavored to secure allies by inculpating in their confessions men of rank and influence and unblemished character,¹ but in view of Lucero's methods, such a concerted effort, improbable in itself, would have been wholly superfluous, and even if true would be sufficient condemnation of the procedure which rendered it practicable by secrecy, suppression of the names of witnesses and virtual denial of opportunities for defence.

Thus Lucero horrified the land by gathering evidence of a vast conspiracy ramifying throughout Spain for the purpose of subverting Christianity and substituting Judaism, which required the most comprehensive and pitiless measures for its overthrow. Nothing was too wild to serve as evidence of this widespread plot. Maidens who were known never to have left the paternal roof were described as traversing the land on this unholy errand, some of them as drunken Bacchantes and others transported on goats by the powers of hell.² All the superstitions of the vulgar were invoked to excite detestation, to arouse alarm and to justify murder and spoliation. A single instance which happens to have reached us will illustrate the savagery with which Lucero protected Christianity from this assault. A certain Bachiller Membreque was convicted as an apostate Judaizer who had disseminated his doctrines by preaching. Lists were gathered from witnesses of those who had attended his services, and these, to the number of a hundred and seven, were burnt alive at a single *auto de fe*. The prisons were filled with the unfortunates under accusation, as many as four hundred being thus incarcerated, and large numbers were carried to Toro, where at the time the inquisitor-general, Diego Deza, archbishop of Seville, resided with the Supreme Council of the Inquisition.

The reign of terror thus established was by no means confined to Cordoba. Its effects are energetically described by the Capitan Gonzalo de Avora in a letter, July 16, 1507, to the royal secretary Almazán. After premising that he had represented to Ferdinand, with that monarch's assent, that there were three things requisite for the good of the kingdom—to conduct the Inquisition righteously with-

¹ *Epistt. Petri Martyris Angler.*, Epist. 370. Zurita, *Hist. del Rey Don Hernando* Lib. VII., Cap. xxix. Rodrigo, *Hist. verdadera de la Inquisicion*, II. 238.

² *Epistt. F. Mart.*, Epist. 385.

out weakening it, to wage war with the Moors and to relieve the burdens of the people—he proceeds to contrast this with what had been done. “As for the Inquisition,” he says, “the method adopted was to place so much confidence in the archbishop of Seville and in Lucero and Juan de la Fuente that they were able to defame the whole kingdom and to destroy great part of it, without God or justice, slaying and robbing and violating maids and wives to the great dishonor of the Christian religion. . . . As for what concerns myself, I repeat what I have already written to you, that the damage and injury which the wicked officials of the Inquisition have wrought in my land are so many and so great that no reasonable person on learning them would not grieve.”¹ The bishop of Córdoba, Juan de Daza, and all the authorities of the city, ecclesiastical and secular, in a petition to the pope, did not hesitate to assert that the object of all this was the confiscations, which the inquisitors habitually embezzled;² but, if this was difficult under the system of accountability organized and supervised by Ferdinand, there was ample opportunity for extortion and for the violence and rapine described by Avora, when a horde of officials, clothed in virtual inviolability, was let loose upon a defenceless population.

It was probably in 1505, after the death of Isabella, November 26, 1504, that the people of Córdoba first ventured to raise their voice in appeal to the inquisitor-general Deza. He offered to send the archdeacon Torquemada to Córdoba, where, with representatives of the cathedral chapter and of the magistracy, an impartial investigation should be made, but when the city accepted this proposition he withdrew it. A deputation of church dignitaries was then sent who asked him to have Lucero arrested and prosecuted. He replied that if they would make out accusations in legal form he would act as would best tend to the service of God and if necessary would appoint judges to whom they could not object.³ The remedy proposed was futile, for all the evidence was in Lucero's hands and Deza alone could order the necessary investigation. Apparently recognizing that it was useless to appeal to Ferdinand, their next recourse was to Isabella's daughter and successor, Queen Juana, then in Flanders with her husband Philip of Austria. Philip was delighted with an excuse to exercise an act of sovereignty in the kingdom which Ferdinand was governing in the name of his daughter, and, on September 30, 1505, a *cédula* in the name of Philip and Juana was addressed to Deza, reciting that they had heard that since

¹ *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, XVII. 447-451.

² Archivo de la Catedral de Córdoba, Cajon I., No. 304.

³ Arch. de Simancas, Patronato Real, Inquisicion, Legajo único, fol. 46. Zurita, *Hist. del Rey Hernando*, Lib. VII., Cap. xxix.

the death of Isabella he and his inquisitors had seized many persons, some of whom had been executed and others were still imprisoned ; the sovereigns were desirous to be present and to participate with their councils in these matters, and therefore, in the plenitude of royal power, they suspended the Inquisition until their approaching arrival in Castile, all papal letters and bulls notwithstanding, under penalty of banishment and seizure of temporalities for disobedience, protesting at the same time that it was not their intention to impede but rather to favor the Holy Office.¹ Although a circular letter to all the grandees announced this royal determination and commanded them to enforce it, it was received with complete indifference and no attempt at obeying it was made. The friends of the prisoners, finding themselves baffled in this, took the necessary steps to recuse Deza as judge and to interject an appeal to the Holy See, transferring for the moment the struggle to Rome, where the agents of Ferdinand and Philip contended with each other for the favor of Julius II., but the politic pontiff held aloof, declaring that he must reserve his decision until Ferdinand and Philip should have met.²

Undisturbed by this rising storm Lucero, about this time, saw in Isabella's death the opportunity of striking at a higher quarry than he had hitherto ventured to aim at. The Jeronimite Hernando de Talavera had won her affectionate veneration as her confessor, and on the conquest of Granada, in 1492, she had made him archbishop of the province established in the new acquisition. He had a Jewish strain in his blood, as was the case with so many Spanish families ; in his eightieth year, he was revered as the pattern and exemplar of all Christian virtues, and he devoted himself unsparingly to the welfare of his flock, spending his revenues in charity and seeking by precept and example to win over to the faith his Moorish subjects—a task in which he might have succeeded had not the imperious Ximenes visited Granada and by his arbitrary methods provoked an uprising and created an impassable chasm between the races. Yet Talavera was not without enemies, for he had been the active agent in the reclamation by Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1480, of royal revenues to the amount of thirty millions of maravedis alienated by Henry IV. to purchase the submission of rebellious nobles, and though a quarter of a century had passed it is asserted that the vengeful spirit thus aroused was still eager to work his ruin.³ Whatever may have been Lucero's motive, the methods of the Inquisition afforded abun-

¹*Coleccion de Documentos para la Hist. de España*, VIII. 336, 337.

² Arch. de Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, Inquisicion, Legajo 621, fol. 198. Gachard *Voyages des Souverains des Pays-bas*, I. 548.

³ Clemencin, *Elogio de la Reina Isabel*, pp. 144–5 (Madrid, 1821). Pedraza, *Historia Ecclesiastica de Granada*, P. IV., Cap. XXXI. (Granada, 1638).

dant means for the accomplishment of his object. He selected a woman whom he had tortured on the charge of being a Jewish prophetess and maintaining a synagogue in her house. He threatened her with further torture unless she should testify to what she had seen in the archbishop's palace, and, on her replying that she did not know, he instructed her that an assembly was held there, divided into three classes. In the first were the archbishop with the bishops of Almería, Jaen and others; in the second the dean (Talavera's nephew) with the provisor of Granada, the treasurer, the alcalde and many others, whose names were duly recorded by the promotor fiscal; in the third the prophetesses, the sister and nieces of the archbishop, Doña María de Peñalosa and others. They agreed to traverse the kingdom, preaching and prophesying the advent of Elias and of the Messiah, in concert with the prophets who were at Toledo, in the house of Fernan Alvarez, where they were crowned with golden crowns.¹ All of this was duly sworn to by the witness as dictated to her by the fiscal and it served as the basis for the prosecution of Talavera and his family, doubtless supported by ample corroborative testimony, readily obtained in the same manner. That there was some further political intrigue involved in this is probable from the occurrence of the name of the bishop of Jaen as an accomplice. He was Alfonso Suarez de Fuentelsaz, a former colleague of Deza as inquisitor-general and at this time president of the royal council. He escaped prosecution, but under inquisitorial methods there was no one who could consider himself safe.

Impenetrable secrecy, to which every one concerned was sworn under the heavy penalties of impeding the Inquisition, was one of the most cherished principles of its proceedings, but Lucero probably desired to prepare the public mind for the impending blow and whispers respecting it began to circulate. Peter Martyr of Anghiera, who was attached to the royal court, wrote on January 3, 1506, to the Count of Tendilla, governor of Granada, that Lucero, by means of witnesses under torture, had succeeded in imputing Judaism to the archbishop and his whole family and household; as there is no one more holy than Talavera he finds it difficult to believe that any one could be found to fabricate such an accusation against him.² The blow followed promptly. Talavera's sister, her son Francisco Herrera, dean of Granada, her daughters and the archbishop's servants were arrested and we can easily conceive the methods by which even his kindred were compelled to give testimony incriminating him.³ Before he could be arrested and prosecuted, however,

¹Archivo de la Catedral de Córdoba, Cajon J, No. 297.

²*Epistt. P. Mart. Angl.*, Epist. 295.

³Correspondence of Francisco de Rojas (*Boletín*, XXVIII. 448). Ferdinand

the authorization of the Holy See was requisite, for, by a decree of Boniface VIII., the Inquisition had no direct jurisdiction over bishops, and Torquemada had vainly endeavored to get this limitation on his powers set aside. Ferdinand's intervention was necessary for this and after some delay he consented, for the inquisitor-general Deza had much influence with him, having been royal confessor and then tutor to the heir apparent, Prince Juan, at whose untimely death, October 7, 1497, he was at the bedside.¹ Ferdinand yielded, the inculpatory evidence of Talavera's family was sent to Rome, the ambassador, Francisco de Rojas, procured the papal commission for the archbishop's trial and forwarded it, June 13, 1506.²

Before it was despatched, however, Ferdinand's policy had changed with the arrival in Spain of his daughter Juana, the new queen of Castile, and her husband, Philip of Austria. Eager to gain the favor of the new sovereigns, most of the nobles were flocking to them, and with them the *conversos* or New Christians, who hoped to secure a modification in the rigor of the Inquisition. They had been aroused by the sufferings of their brethren in Córdoba, whose cause was their own, and they were becoming an element not to be disregarded in the political situation; they had already secured a hearing in the Roman curia, always ready to welcome appellants with money, and to sacrifice them after payment received; they had obtained from Julius II. commissions transferring from the Inquisition jurisdiction over certain cases—commissions which Ferdinand repeatedly asked the pope to withdraw, doubtless with success, as they do not appear in the course of events; they had even approached Ferdinand himself while in Valladolid with an offer of 100,000 ducats if he would suspend the Inquisition until after the

writes, June 9, 1506, to his ambassador Rojas, "Quanto á lo del Arzobispo de Granada, para con vos, lo que del se dice, confesiones son de sus mismas hermanas e parientes e criados e servidores."

¹ Davila, *Theatro Ecclesiastico, Iglesia de Salamanca*, p. 128 (Salamanca, 1618). Deza was not a mere cruel bigot, but was enlightened according to the measure of the times. He had written a Commentary on the Sentences and other books and has claims to respect as the patron of Columbus, befriending and encouraging him when disheartened by the incredulity of the court. Irving's *Life and Voyages of Columbus*, Book II., Chap. 3, 4; Book XVIII., Chap. 3.

² Dom Clemencin, *Elogio de la Reina Isabel*, Illust. XVIII., prints a noble and touching letter of reproof from Talavera to Ferdinand, dated January 23, 1507. He had had the direction of royal consciences too long to entertain any awe of royal personages. Spiritually he felt himself the king's superior and his perfectly frank simplicity of character led him to manifest this without disguise, while rebuking him in a spirit of the most genuine fatherly kindness.

Llorente, *Historia crítica de la Inquisición*, X. 184, prints an earlier appeal from Talavera to Ferdinand for his kindred and servants. From this it appears that the arrest of the officials of his church was made in the most offensive manner, in his presence and that of the people assembled on a public occasion.

arrival of Juana and Philip. This offer, he says in a letter of June 9, 1506, to Francisco de Rojas, he spurned, but we may perhaps doubt his disinterestedness when he adds that, as Philip has disembarked and is unfamiliar with Spanish affairs, he had secretly ordered Deza to suspend the operations of all the Inquisitions. As for the archbishop of Granada, he adds, as it would greatly scandalize the new converts of Granada if they thought there were errors of faith in him whom they regarded as so good a Christian, he had concluded to let the matter rest for the present, and would subsequently send instructions.¹ This dispatch of course reached Rojas too late to prevent the issuing of the commission to try Talavera, but it explains why the commission was suppressed when it arrived. Deza denied that he ever received it; it disappeared, and Talavera, in his letter to Ferdinand of January 23, 1507, manifests much anxiety to know what had become of it, evidently fearing that it might be opportunely found when wanted, as subsequently proved to be the case.

By the agreement of Villafila, June 20, 1506, Ferdinand bound himself to abandon Castile to Philip and Juana; he departed for Aragon and busied himself in preparations to visit Naples, for which he set sail September 4. Philip assumed the government and dis-embarrassed himself of his wife Juana by shutting her up as unfit to share in the cares of government. He was amenable to the golden arguments of the conversos, and doubtless he had not forgotten the contempt with which his order of the previous year to suspend the Inquisition had been treated. His position towards it had become antagonistic and he was in no haste to revive its suspended functions. Ferdinand's secretary Almazán writes to Rojas, July 1, that the king and the grandees have imprisoned Juana and no one is allowed to see her; he has in vain sought to get some prelates to carry letters from her to her father, but no one ventures to do so; the grandees have done this to partition among themselves the royal power, the conversos to liberate themselves from the Inquisition, which is now extinct.²

The people of Córdoba were not remiss in taking advantage of the situation. They sent a powerful appeal to Philip and Juana in which they stated that their previous complaints had been intercepted through Deza's influence, and they accused Lucero of the most arbitrary iniquities. Among his other methods of obtaining testimony they said was the device of keeping in the Inquisition certain Jews of both sexes whose function it was to teach his prisoners Jewish prayers and ceremonies in order that they might be able to testify correctly

¹ Correspondence of Fr. de Rojas (*Boletín*, XXVIII. 444, 448).

² *Ibid.*, p. 452.

against those whom he desired to convict.¹ They asked that all the inquisitorial officials at Córdoba and Toro be removed and the whole affair be committed to the bishop of Leon. Philip referred the matter to Garcilasso de la Vega, the *comendador mayor*, and to Andrés del Burgo, ambassador of Maximilian I., two laymen, to the great scandal of all ecclesiastics.² The conversos were triumphant and the Inquisition succumbed completely. Its supreme council, including Deza himself, hastened to disclaim responsibility for Lucero's misdeeds in a letter addressed to the chapter of Córdoba in which it said that the accusations against him had seemed incredible, for even highwaymen spared the lives of the victims whom they robbed, but here not only the property, but the lives, of the unfortunates were taken and the honor of their descendants to the tenth generation. But after hearing the narrative of the Master of Toro there can no longer be doubt and to tolerate it would be to approve it. The chapter is therefore urged to continue to prevent these iniquities and their majesties will be asked to apply a remedy and to punish their authors.³ The remedy applied was to compel Deza to subdelegate irrevocably to Diego Ramirez de Guzman, bishop of Catania, power to supersede Lucero and to revise his acts, which was confirmed by a papal brief placing in Guzman's hands all the records and prisoners in Córdoba, Toro and Valladolid.⁴ Lucero endeavored to anticipate this by summarily burning his prisoners to get them out of the way, but after the *auto* was announced there came an order from the sovereigns which fortunately prevented the execution of his purpose.⁵

The relief of the oppressed seemed assured, but the situation was radically changed by the sudden death of Philip, September 25, 1506, for although Juana continued to be nominally treated as queen she exercised no authority. Deza promptly revoked Guzman's commission, took possession of the prisoners at Toro and sent the archdeacon of Torquemada to Córdoba to do the same, but Guzman's representative, Francisco de Osorio, refused to obey. The people of Córdoba were in despair. It was in vain that they sent delegations to Deza and petitioned the queen to save them; some of their messengers were intercepted at Toledo by Deza's orders; others succeeded in reaching the court, but the queen refused

¹ Archivo de la Catedral de Córdoba, Cajon A, n. 5. Arch. de Simancas, Patronato Real, Inquisicion, Legajo único, fol. 46.

² Zurita, *Hist. del Rey Hernando*, Lib. VIII., Cap. xi.

³ Archivo de la Catedral de Córdoba, Cajon I, n. 302. This letter is signed by Deza and the members of the council.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Cajon I, n. 300.

⁵ Archivo de Simancas, Patronato Real, Inquisicion, Legajo único, fol. 46.

to act in this as in everything else. On October 16 the cathedral chapter assembled to consider the situation. The canons protested that they held the Inquisition in due respect, but in view of Lucero's assertion that they all, together with the greater part of the nobles and gentlemen of the city and other places, were apostates who had converted their houses into synagogues it was resolved that they should defend themselves. In fact some of the most prominent dignitaries of the church had already been arrested and had been treated by Lucero as Jewish dogs, the most deadly insult that could be offered to a Spaniard of the time.¹

If the eclipse of the royal authority had enabled Deza to restore Lucero to power, it also offered temptation to resistance. The grandees of Castile were aiming to recover the independence which they had enjoyed prior to the iron rule of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the land was fast approaching a condition of anarchy. The two great nobles of Córdoba, the Count of Cabra, Lord of Baena, and the Marquis of Priego, Lord of Aguilar and nephew of the Great Captain, were nothing loath to listen to the entreaties of the citizens. Meetings were held in which formal accusations against the inquisitor and promotor fiscal were laid before the Padre Fray Francisco de Cuesta, comendador of the convent of La Merced, who seems to have been put forward as the leader of the movement. He pronounced judgment ordering Lucero and the fiscal, Juan de Arriola, to be arrested and their property confiscated. Under the lead of the counts the citizens arose to execute the judgment. On November 9 they broke into the Alcázar, where the Inquisition held its seat, seized the fiscal and some of the subordinates and liberated the prisoners, whose recital of their sufferings inflamed still more the popular indignation, though no blood was shed, and Lucero saved himself by flight. The whole proceeding appears to have been orderly; a commission of ecclesiastics and laymen was appointed to whom the kinsmen and friends of the prisoners gave security that they should be forthcoming for trial as soon as there should be a king in the land to administer justice.² Deza lost no time, when the news of this reached him, and on November 18 commissioned his nephew, Pedro Juarez de Deza, archbishop-elect of the Indies, to prosecute and punish all concerned in the uprising.³ What steps he took to effect this do not appear, but early in January, 1507, the bishop of Córdoba, in conjunction with the ecclesiastical and secular authorities, sent a solemn appeal to the pope in which

¹ Archivo de la Catedral de Córdoba, Cajon J, n. 295, 298.

² Lorenzo de Padilla, Crónica de Felipe I., *Coleccion de Documentos*, VIII. 153. Padilla adds that many of the prisoners had died of pestilence.

³ Archivo de la Catedral de Córdoba, Cajon I, n. 301.

they asked him to appoint Archbishop Ximenes and the bishop of Catania or of Malaga with power to investigate and to act, and they followed this, January 10, with a supplication to Ferdinand, who was still in Naples, to support their request with the pope.¹ To this the answer of Julius II. was prompt and uncompromising. His instructions were that the Jews, pretending to be Christians, who had dared to rise against the Inquisition, must be extirpated root and branch; Deza is to labor night and day to suppress this pestilence before it spreads, to hunt up all who have participated in it and to exercise full severity in punishing them for their crimes.² With the papal decision thus emphatically in his favor, Lucero resumed his activity. On March 7, 1507, Peter Martyr writes from the court to Archbishop Talavera that his sister and his nephew, Francisco Herrera, dean of Granada (who had doubtless been released in the rising of November 9), have been arrested and thrown into prison in Córdoba. Talavera moreover was at last put on trial before the papal nuncio, Giovanni Ruffo, bishop of Bertinoro, and judges duly commissioned by the pope, and Peter Martyr details his earnest efforts to convince them of Talavera's holy life and spotless character, to which they replied that this may be so, but their business is to ascertain the secrets of the heart.³

When the evidence was sent to Julius, however, its worthlessness was admitted, and Pascual de la Fuente, bishop of Burgos, who chanced to be in Rome, bore emphatic testimony to the sanctity of the accused.⁴ The papal decision was in his favor, but it came too late. On May 21 Peter Martyr exultingly writes to Talavera that the dean and his sisters, with their mother and the rest of his innocent family have been set free; but already he had gone to a higher tribunal. On Ascension Day he had walked bareheaded and barefooted in the procession through the streets of Granada; a violent fever set in, and after five days' illness he died, May 14.⁵ He had accumulated no treasure, having spent all his revenues on the poor; he left no provision for his family, and the bishop of Malaga gave to his sister a house in Granada in which to live. His reputation for sanctity is seen in the accounts which were at once circulated, with universal credence, of the miracles wrought by him in healing the sick.⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, Cajon A, n. 5; Cajon I, n. 304.

² *Bulario de la Orden de Santiago*, Lib. III., fol. 320 (*Archivo Histórico Nacional*). Below will be found the text of this brief, which is inedited.

³ *Epistt. P. Mart. Angler.*, Epistt. 333, 334, 335.

⁴ Pedraza, *Hist. Eccl. de Granada*, P. IV., Cap. xxxi.-xxxiv.

⁵ *Pet. Mart.*, Epist. 342. Pedraza, *loc. cit.*

⁶ *Pet. Mart.*, Epistt. 344, 457. The Inquisition, which had hunted him to the death, could never forgive him for his escape from it. When the Inquisitor-general Valdés, in

The reaction in favor of the Inquisition, led by Ferdinand and Julius II., had evidently been short-lived, for the political situation dominated everything, and king and pope were obliged to yield. Juana was keeping herself secluded with the corpse of her husband and was refusing to govern. The rival factions of the two grandfathers of Charles V., Maximilian I. and Ferdinand, each striving for the regency during his minority, were both desirous of securing the support of the conversos and thus the question of the prisoners of the Inquisition attained national importance as one on which all parties took sides. Ximenes, the Duke of Alva and the Constable of Castile, the heads of Ferdinand's party, met at Cavia and listened to the complaints against Deza, for which they promised to find a remedy. It may have been with a view to stimulate them that the friends of the prisoners negotiated with Maximilian's faction; they offered money to defray the expenses of troops to be sent to Castile to resist Ferdinand's return, and it was generally rumored that four thousand men were in a Flemish port ready to embark. It is not easy to penetrate into the secrets of the intrigues culminating in the settlement which assured the regency to Ferdinand, but Ximenes, who represented him, took advantage of the situation with his usual skill to further his own ambition, which was to gain the cardinal's hat and Deza's place, and for the latter of these the complaints of the conversos afforded substantial reasons.¹ Córdoba had petitioned the pope to commission him as its judge and his appointment would help to pacify the troubles. Ferdinand at length saw that Deza's sacrifice was inevitable; the way was made easy for him and he was allowed to resign. On May 18, 1507, Ferdinand writes to Ximenes from Naples that he had received the resignation and had taken the necessary steps to secure for him the succession; he has two requests to make—that Ximenes shall foster piety and religion by appointing only the best men, and that he shall exercise the utmost care that nothing shall be allowed to detract from Deza's dignity.²

1559, compiled the first Spanish Expurgatory Index, a forgotten controversial tract against the Jews, printed by Talavera in 1480, was resuscitated and condemned in order to include his name among forbidden authors (Reusch, *Die Indices Libror. Prohib.*, p. 232) and this was religiously continued through the long series of Spanish Indices down to the last one, in 1790 (*Indice Ultimo*, p. 262).

¹ Zurita, *Hist. del Rey Hernando*, Lib. VII., Cap. xxix., xxxiv., xlii.; Lib. VIII., Cap. i., v. Zurita, who had himself been secretary of the Inquisition, doubtless reflects its traditions when he says that many murmured when they saw Ferdinand, to win over Ximenes, thus sacrifice Deza, for he was a most notable prelate, a man of great learning and devoted to the king's service.

² *Gomesii de Rebus Gestis a Fr. Ximeno*, Lib. III. (Compluti, 1569, fol. 77a). Deza retired to his see of Seville. How fully he retained Ferdinand's confidence was seen in 1508 when among the stern measures taken to subdue the rebellious nobles the Duke of Medina Sidonia was forced to fly to Portugal and his extensive territories were

The cardinalate had already been granted in secret consistory, January 4, and was published May 17.¹ The commission as inquisitor-general was dated June 5.

The hatred excited by Lucero had been too widespread, and the friends of the prisoners were too powerful, to be satisfied with the substitution of Ximenes for Deza, and there was doubtless an understanding that the matter was not to be dropped. Already, on May 1, Peter Martyr writes that it is reported that the imprisoned witnesses, corrupted by Lucero, are to be released and that he will expiate with due punishment his unheard-of crimes.² Some such promise was doubtless necessary for the pacification of the land, but the performance was postponed until the ebullition of indignation had time to subside. It assumed the shape of an action brought by the chapter and city of Córdoba before the pope, charging Lucero with the evil wrought by his suborning some witnesses and compelling others by punishment to testify that the plaintiffs were heretics. Julius commissioned Fray Francisco de Mayorga of Baena as apostolic judge to try the case, who on October 17, 1507, issued mandate that Lucero be seized and imprisoned in order to be held to answer according to law. Nothing further was done at the time, however, and the impatient citizens addressed a memorial to Queen Juana informing her of it and asking her to send some one to ascertain the facts and report to her.³ The months passed away and it was not until May 18, 1508, that the Supreme Council of the Inquisition took independent action in the matter, when Ximenes and all his colleagues, except Aguirre, voted that Lucero should be arrested.⁴ Peter Martyr intimates more than once that members of the council were suspected of complicity with Lucero, but that they did not act without first thoroughly investigating the matter, with its numerous witnesses and interminable masses of records of the trials, revealing an incredible accumulation of impossible and fantastic accusations, contrived to bring infamy on all Spain.⁵

It was apparently the first time that an inquisitor had been thus publicly put on trial to answer for his misdeeds, and it would seem to have been the object to render the occasion a solemn one, fitted

seized and placed in Deza's charge. (Zurita, Lib. VIII., Cap. xxv.) He was on the point of being elevated to the primacy of Toledo when he died, June 9, 1533, at the age of 80 (Davila, *op. cit.*, p. 131).

¹ Ciacconii et Oldoini *Vite Pontiff. Rom.*, III. 262 (Romæ, 1677). Ferdinand had applied for this as early as November 8, 1505, and had repeated the request, October 30, 1506.—Correspondence of Rojas (*Boletín*, XXVIII. 440, 457).

² P. Mart. Angl., Epist. 339.

³ Archivo de la Catedral de Córdoba, Cajon I, n. 303.

⁴ Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Sección de MSS., G. 61, fol. 208.

⁵ P. Mart. Angler., Epist. 370, 382, 385.

not only to satisfy the national interest felt in the case, but to magnify the office of the accused by the scale of the machinery necessary to deal with him. Lucero was carried in chains to Burgos, where the court was residing, and was confined in the castle under strict guard. Ximenes assembled a *Congregacion Católica*, composed of twenty-one members besides himself, embracing a large portion of the royal council, the inquisitor-general of Aragon and other inquisitors, several bishops and other dignitaries—in short, a full representation of the piety and learning of the land. After numerous sessions, presided over by Ximenes, sentence was rendered July 9 and was published August 1 at Valladolid, whither the court had removed, in presence of Ferdinand and his magnates and a great concourse assembled to lend solemnity to this restoration of the honor of Castile and Andalusia, which had been so deeply compromised by the pretended revelations extorted by Lucero. It declared that there were no grounds for the asserted existence of synagogues, the preaching of sermons and the assemblages of missionaries of Judaism, or for the prosecution of those accused. The witnesses—or rather prisoners—were discharged and everything relating to these fictitious crimes was ordered to be expunged from the records of the Inquisition. To render complete the vindication of the memory of the victims, Ferdinand ordered to be rebuilt the houses in Córdoba which had been torn down under the provisions of the canon law requiring the demolition of the conventicles of heresy. Lucero was sent back in chains to Burgos, to be strictly confined in the castle, but, with the tenderness always displayed for inquisitorial aberrations, he was soon afterwards permitted to retire to the canonry in Seville, which he had acquired by the ruin of the archdeacon of Castro and where he long resided in peace.¹ Whether the confiscations were restored to their rightful owners and their heirs does not appear.

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¹ Pet. Mart. Angler., Epist. 398. Llorente, *Memoria Histórica acerca del Trib. de la Inquisición*, pp. 145-50 (Madrid, 1812). Gomesii *de Rebus Ximenii* Lib. III., fol. 77 b. Llorente quotes from the MS. of Pedro de Torres, a contemporary fanatic supporter of the Inquisition, that a clause declared that those burnt in Córdoba had been justly punished. This, however, is incompatible with the terms of the sentence, with the restoration of the houses, and with the assumption of Peter Martyr, who was present, that the innocence of the accused was proved. After mentioning the imprisonment of Lucero he adds “Sed quid? mortene sua Thersites mille pensabit Hectorum aerumnas? Levabit miserorum curas, cordis anxii pressuræ medebitur aliquantulum se injuria damnatos, se sub iniquo iudice causam habuisse, patefier?”

JULIUS II. TO INQUISITOR-GENERAL DEZA.

(Bulario de la Orden de Santiago, Libro III., fol. 320. In Archivo Historico Nacional.)

Venerabilis frater salutem, etc. Non sine summa animi molestia percipimus quosdam iniquitatis filios Catholicæ fidei rebelles qui cum Christiani sint judaicæ se perfidiæ participes præstant, officiales a te ad inquirenda hæreticæ pravitatis errata constitutos Cordubæ, quorundam adminiculo complicum, captivos fecisse et quod auditu quoque nefarium est mulctatos male et contumeliose habitos diu in vinculis detinuisse, quæ res cum pessimi prorsus ac perniciosissimi sit exempli, pro cura quæ Catholici gregis ab hæreticorum rabie defendendi, una cum apostolatus officio nobis est demandata mature providendum duximus, ne lues tam pestifera serpat ulterius neve sua contagione rectus commaculet. Quamobrem fraternitati tuæ cui jam pridie talia perquirendi facinora et reperta puniendi potestatem arbitriumque contulimus districte mandamus ut commissum sibi munus ferve et severe exerceat ac subnascentem in agro Domini zizaniam abolere et radicitus extirpare non cesset, fidelium defensionem ut par est die noctuque excubando. Præfatos vere qui tam abominandum scelus ausi sunt, cum suis complicibus et quicumque eis auxilium, consilium, favoremve ullum præstiterunt undique conquisitos ac debitis subjectos pœnis exemplum cæteris statuas ne aliquando ad peccati similitudinem ex impunitate accendantur. Volumus autem hæc omni diligentia quamprimum a fraternitate tua curari et effici, nam exorientia tabiferæ pestis capita ne serpent, in ipsis statim principiis sunt opprimenda, ad quod per ecclesiasticas censuras et universa juris remedia ut magis expedire videbitur, appellatione remota, procedes, in contrarium facientibus nonobstantibus quibuscunque. Dat. Bononiæ.¹

¹ Without date, but it must have been issued between November 10, 1506, when Julius II. entered Bologna, and February 22, 1507, when he departed.—Raynald. *Annal.* ann. 1506, n. 30 ; ann. 1507, n. 2.